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I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
II. Material Culture.
III. Art and Music.
IV. Religious Ideas, Myths and Fables.
V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.
VI. Influence of the Environment.

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

101 197 The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Caingué. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113] 1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/, São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbüa (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiová (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiovás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apyterés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, 101 they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its • [174] forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

[113] 3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there;

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174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingué, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, gué = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

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361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué.

[241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by

[464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

2: Schaden--50 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/46 cont./

171 221 771 796 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

• 174 221 241 796 177 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe. The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 221 184 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups, the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year. Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 221 [184] Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year; this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

244 221

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

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[For reconstructed historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14-57 and 79.]

/32 cont./
made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language, admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí, Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians' territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinction, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[121] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs
• [174] today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Catanduvá are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá* (*Kayguá*).

The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

At present most of the *Caingué* groups are in constant contact with the Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingué* work as peons in the estancias, in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes, tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

Population.—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingué* at about 3,000.

Sources.—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingué* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingué* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingué*. On the *Caiuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingué*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingué*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[6] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[6] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodada el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary act-

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca° wi°.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

-174 797 elements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guarani languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranis". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guarani" or "Northern Guarani". Gay (Cônego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuitica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1918) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guarani" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Calaguá (= Cayuá).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[14] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[15]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[15] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 118-140.

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupi-Guarani peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupi-Guarani peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

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/4 cont./ and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

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In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

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3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1915-

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[927] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

● 174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

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174 175 167 648 It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

[113]

7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de límites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

/6 cont./

174 175 167 648 place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

[113]

8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

Gi /6 cont./
174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori.
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatín in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[562] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[729] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
641
175
[567]
[727]

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167 The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126] The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 174 C [113] As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

8: Schmidt--25 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

/11 cont./

C Gi 177 174 little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We Ce [177] know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

C Ce 128 In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

000 /12/ Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

Ce 101 175

/301 cont./

/fn. 2 cont./ from the corocotoquys to the paycunos two, and near them are the curumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 177 418 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

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G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/303 cont./

177 181 169 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

169 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

● 174 167 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

G 173 173 175 GU [176] [173]

/308 cont./

Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 173

There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 ● 174

All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [172]

When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

G 174 167 172 [177]

/309/

174 167 721 Contingents from several neighboring villages combined, probably in order to face together the perils of the road (1).

1. In the course of the survey he conducted on the Paraguay River by order of Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala had the chance to question some Guarani near Puerto de los Reyes, one of whom gave him the following information, which throws light on the manner in which these migrations took place: "asked if there are some houses of his race ahead of them, he said that, yes, there were five or six principals; asked if they go for the metal to the sierra where they extract it, he said that they are not accustomed to go there because they are few and have enemies nearby, but those of the last houses go sometimes and he went there once; asked how much time it takes from here to where the metal is, he said that it takes five moons; asked with whom he went for the said metal, he said that in the past many principals from paguay and Indians from the port that they call ytatyn came, and, passing through a land called ytapua, which is a four-day trip from the last houses of his race, those of the said house going in search of said metal, they met on the way and went together and came to a house of Indian slaves, enemies of theirs, and that from there they returned with all their men and also some of those from ytatyn, and the others went on, and I have heard it said that they took the said five moons to get to where the said metal was ..." /translated from the Spanish/ (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 349-350).

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[139]

1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows [142] [481] their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

/310 cont./

167 174 72 [484] those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass . . . " /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

484 175 648 22 262 [127] /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity . . . they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

CG 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

CG 175 169 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

CG 114 175 169 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.